Social Change—
A Challenge to Parents

WHEN people are willing to come together to discuss the family in a changing society, it is as much as to say that they rather expect change, in theory at least, and that they are willing to give it a chance. They are likely to have reached a certain vantage point; mature enough to have seen life play unexpected tricks, they still are young enough to regard those tricks with curiosity, even with sympathy, rather than with confirmed disapproval. The Child Study Association, with a lifetime already behind it in which it has served three generations of parents, feels that its forty-fifth anniversary is one of those vantage points, particularly since this anniversary happens to fall at a time when the stream of social development has overflowed its channel and appears to be working havoc on all sides.

What is this "force" which, according to our temperaments, we either fear, or welcome, or seek to analyze? We talk sometimes as if we thought of social change, especially family change, as a unique phenomenon peculiar to the 1930's. A less naive view sees that we cannot date it; it is cumulative. Times of rapid change have been called "revolutionary" in one way or another. The "changed" modern family is not the first "changed" family in history. The same thing has happened with every upheaval from Egyptian days to the invasions of Europe by the barbarians, and from the fall of Rome to the Russian Revolution. And it will happen again and again in the future. Our own "revolution" in family living stems back to the industrial revolution, which began a century and a half ago. There has been a definite added acceleration since the beginning of the twentieth century, during the very period when the present generation of parents were themselves children. The war hastened the process until it has now washed away our guide lines and undermined our bearings.

What is change? It is as difficult to describe as it is to date. Is it something beyond our control which sweeps us on whether we will or not? Is it the product of deliberate and conscious choice? Is it a combination of adapting, modifying, compromising, as between the individual, the forces of inheritance and tradition, and of social and economic development? Change is a complex; it sweeps us along; we make conscious decisions on certain courses of action (though even these may have unforeseen results;) and come what may, we seek to make the best of any given situation.

Without deluding ourselves into believing that we can stem the tide, it is important to remember that *what* we want and *how much* we care do matter. Perhaps the difficulty in defining change is intensified by the fact that here in America we are a mixed society, where individuals with conflicting backgrounds are all striving to find out what is worth while, in a social order for which their traditions have not prepared them. "Keeping up with the Joneses" becomes the only way many people have of determining what is worth caring about. "What is being done" within our range of vision affects everything we do—what we eat and what we wear, whether we read pulpwood literature or the classics, how we feel toward local politics and national policies, what we believe about "nice" behavior and what we believe about God and the universe. Or, to put it into more academic terms, the most profound and far reaching considerations—in economics, sociology, education, moral conventions and religious faiths, to mention only some of the outstanding approaches to human life—are implicit even in apparently simple alterations in our everyday lives.

The following discussions attempt to outline first, the changes that are now happening; and second, what these changes are doing to the inter-relationships of the family members. The Association has deliberately gone far afield in this attempt to survey the world background of family life and the changes at work in it. But its purpose has not been to assemble a treatise on economics, or ethics, or any other particular department of social inquiry. It has, rather, tried

to see and clarify everything that the family feels, consciously or unconsciously, and to see it from the parent's point of view.

We shall be told again and again in the following pages that these large abstract seeming problems are really not the product of impersonal "forces" but of deep-seated conflicts in human emotion, and desire and need. We shall also be told that people—good, bad and indifferent—are as they are because their parents shaped their childhood experience along this line or that. These two facts together form the key link which joins the parent to world affairs.

As Dr. Bernard Glueck said in speaking at the dinner meeting of the Conference, "It is essentially some kind of prodigious inadequacy in the make-up of man which is responsible for this widespread want amidst plenty, whether you give this inadequacy a psychological, or sociological, or moral connotation."

No wonder parents are concerned; they cannot escape the challenge of society.

Highlights on Social Backgrounds

An economic crisis does not create the trends which it exaggerates into emergencies; the long view seeks to see how the present grows—out of the past and on into the future.

HAS the family outlived its usefulness? Should parents and children continue together as permanent units or as casual and passing groupings? Can we salvage anything at all out of the family of the past that will be socially useful in the future?

These are questions for which we cannot find a "yes" or "no" answer without a most thorough study of both external circumstance and human need. But the temper of current thought is nowhere more startling than in the very fact that we dare to ask. Now, for the first time in history, men and women deliberately question the fate of the family. We accept an opportunity and a challenge of which our predecessors did not even dream, the responsibility of modifying—or discarding—the family on a basis of conscious choice.

Not that adaptability is an innovation to the family. But in the past, adaptations have been largely unconscious, not subject to our kind of deliberate questioning. Yet they have been so varied that when Westermarck tried to formulate a definition which would be constant for all families, regardless of time and place, he found none more explicit than "a more or less permanent union of one or more men and one or more women, recognized by law or custom in the community under consideration, and with certain recognized obligations and responsibilities as between husband and wife." We cannot even say that the family is an economic unit based on sex and affection, because some families make exceptions to one or more of these three elements; economics, affection, even sex does not always play a part in family life. Is it not rather the basic needs for companionship, intimacy, mutual aid and dependence that perpetuate the family, because it is the group through which such needs naturally arise and are met?

The four symposium articles which follow are divided between discussions of the impact of industrial society upon family living, and the moral and ethical dilemmas with which presentday parents are confronted. In each set of two articles the first attempts to describe backgrounds, and the second to suggest some answers to the repeated question: "What has all this to do with me?"

The discussions have necessarily been condensed and that on education has been held for consideration in connection with other problems of education at some future time. Names of the conference speakers have been given opposite their contributions throughout. But since the conference presentations were all based on the earlier informal meetings, the individual speakers, as well as the Association, are indebted to all the participants for their contributions. The "pooling of group thought" has been more than a figure of speech.

The family in an established society like that which our ancestors in feudal Europe knew and left us as a tradition, if not an actual heritage, is a very different group from the family we know. In such an order the family cycle was complete within a pocket in the class and guild system. Now we have no

such stability; individuals and families move from place to place and from one economic level to another. We tend more and more to think of the family in terms of the single household of parents and dependent children and less and less in terms of kinship groups. As we draw a narrower circle, the importance of the individual increases.

From the Patriarchal Past

Theresa Wolfson

It is perhaps a truism to state that capitalism has been a most powerful force in the disintegration of the family. The industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism precipitated a frontal attack upon the family as an economic and social unit. From the days of the enclosure movement in England, with its exodus from the land to the city, through the rise of factory towns and urban communities which preempted the economic functions of the family, we observe a radical change in the status of the family, the morale of its members, their loyalties and their interests. This change extends beyond the physical changes in the home. The effects of an economic depression like that of today merely intensify the trends of family disintegration which have all along been taking place. Modern economics has long since blasted the importance of the family. Wages are not paid in accordance with family responsibilities. Technological improvements do not wait upon the ability of the family to adjust itself to the unemployment of the chief bread earner. Employers demand a mobility of labor which in effect means either leaving the family behind or uprooting the home that has been established.

Meeting Unforeseen Hazards

Nels Anderson

This uprooting of the family is a commonplace of city living. Urbanization—the exchange of the back fence for the elevator, with whatever this implies as to changes in neighborliness with other families, the isolation of the various age levels from each other, lack of continuity and the lost personal touch of the city's millions—is felt most keenly in the centers of population, but much the same thing is happening in smaller communities. Far more important than urbanization in itself is standardization—of taste, habit and even of opinion. This too is no new phenomenon, but it has been immeasurably accelerated by such levelers as tabloid newspapers and cheap magazines, motion pictures, radio and the constant bombardment of national advertising. Communication has ironed out more and more of the social distinctions between town and country.

In an industrial civilization the family encounters a whole series of new perils which are most acutely felt in the population centers, but do not leave even remote communities entirely untouched. Labor, time, space, work and even play are oriented to a money economy more impersonal and anonymous than anything the family has ever known. Out of the cost of space and the impermanence of the job comes the growing transiency of the family. Having a home and a job makes for stability. Where these are uncertain, families float. There are probably between fifteen and twenty thousand families continuously migrating from place to place in the United States today. This is perhaps one of the most urgent problems with which we have to reckon.

The family does not live by bread alone, but it does not live without bread. Although a family is a social structure, it is also an organization for making a living. The old domestic economy consumed its labor in the household. Under the money economy labor is the chief commodity marketed, and the individual competes impersonally with other individuals, even members of his own family. The social values, so important in family life, scarcely figure at all in the new economic relations. As the family has lost control over the means of living, it tends to be much less secure. Old methods are outmoded, but the past hangs over to embarrass the present.

Skill is another commodity marketed in terms of the money formula. Skills have always existed as personal properties, but industry tends to impersonalize them, to scrap old skills and create new ones, and finally to transfer skills to the machine. As the skill of the hand is transferred to the machine, man is relieved of much drudgery but is left temporarily with his hands empty. Here the family encounters its most demoralizing contact with the industrial order.

Industry tends to refine the consciousness of time in the population by making us watchers of the clock and calendar. This is the result not only of selling one's labor, but also of buying one's play. One can still pass leisure without spending as he can toil without earning, but leisure today is normally enjoyed through the money medium. One rents a theatre seat, a tuxedo or a bathing suit much as he rents a house or furniture. The extreme in the commercialization of time is found in the taxi dance halls where female dancing partners sell their time by the minute as labor to male partners who buy it as recreation.

Commercialized recreation and the diverse leisure interests of the different members of the family have

resulted in the waning importance of the home as a social center. The cost of space has drawn ever narrowing centers about the home. Its evolution may be described as a constant clipping process. It began with the elimination of the outbuildings, of the yards and lawns, and finally of that important social institution, the front porch. Go inside and see what happened to the kitchen as a result of competition with the factory, the delicatessen and the restaurant. The custom of eating at home, so important to family solidarity, is passing; the dining room has dwindled to the breakfast nook. What of the spare rooms to shelter guests, visiting relatives, or another baby in the family? Through the ages the family has been the chief carrier of culture from one generation to another. If any home in a modern city is a haven of family tradition and custom, it is very unusual. Having no space to store things, not even an attic, the family gods, like the old folks, are increasingly being put aside. What about the old family album, the pictures of great-grandfather? What of grandmother's big canopy bed or the whatnot that stood in the corner? What with the force of fashion, the genius of interior decorators, and the pressure of space, the family goods and gods have found their way to the second hand dealer—only to be bought back by collectors of more or less early Americana. There is less and less space for children. The fact that there are more dogs than children in some apartment houses is something more than a joke or a coincidence.

Counting the Costs

Harold F. Clark

OUR ancestors considered children economic assets; now over most of the western world they are liabilities. Even our child labor laws have played their part in increasing the financial burden of children. Probably few people today would wish to abolish such laws, but are they willing to consider the obligation incurred? Will not some compensation have to be given to the family for the loss of a wage earner? The presentday problem of child labor was brought on by the development of industry.

For more than two centuries the average number of wage earners per family, as well as the total number of wage earners, has been steadily increasing. This is obviously tied up with such facts as that industry itself has gone out of the home, that in the past children were expected to set up independent lives earlier and that standards of living have increased so that the family's expectations have demanded a larger income to maintain a "decent home." But the fact that there are more wage earners today does not mean that more people work. In the old agricultural craft society, particularly in the democratic setting of eighteenth century America, practically everyone had to work in order to maintain life.

The increasing economic burden of children has undoubtedly been a major factor in the decline of the birth rate. According to one recent calculation, if the present rate of decline continues there will be no children by 1960. Of course this will not happen. But even the careful studies of Dr. Louis I. Dublin show that we have reached a stable or perhaps even declining population. The census of 1930 shows a smaller number of young children than that of 1920.

The increased economic strain of supporting children has been brought about in various ways. Even our general social approval of "the well educated man" has been a contributory cause. As more and more families have considered further education desirable for their children, the economic burden of this education has required them to limit the number of their children. But why should education be a financial strain? Do we not have free public schools? Some recent studies we have been making show that even so-called free education is not free. The free state university requires an expenditure of from $500 to $700 a year on the part of the student. The financial pressure is not so great at the high school level, but it is nevertheless real. It is a substantial strain to keep one or two or three children in high school on a wage earner's income. Even the free high school demands a considerable expenditure for equipment and clothes; even support at home takes money. The same situation exists, although to a lesser degree, at the lower school levels. Extra expenses for clothes, health services and other items are usual.

Yet even though education is such a great financial strain on parents, they feel that it is necessary since it has seemed to be the surest way for their children to attain special advantages and position.

Pitfalls of Democracy

Cécile Pilpel

THIS great popular demand has made profound changes in child training, both in the home and in the school. Now that every individual must make a success of life "on his own," the family attempts to give the child a boost by means of formal education. This academic education was not so necessary in the old guild system where his course in life was pretty much mapped out for him. Much of the difficulty in our present thinking about education comes from the assumption that the same

kind of education is equally good for all kinds of people. We need to learn that we can have equality of opportunity without identical opportunity.

Our standards of success, as well as our education for success, reflect the break-up of the old class system. The "glory of democracy" was supposed to be that a boy is not limited by class, that every baby may grow up to be president. When it was found that all men are not created equal, the emphasis on cash—a tangible, measurable "worth"—was called upon to bolster up the theory of democracy. We set up impossible standards of individual achievement, and failing to live up to them, we have accepted shams as substitutes. A man may not be a financial giant, but he can drive a car; a woman may not be a screen beauty, but she can have a permanent wave and synthetic jewelry. Some few achieve valid compensations, but for the mass even compensation is mostly sham. We need to remove the premium of struggling for the unattainable and to accept attainable goals as honorable and satisfying. The difference is that these attainable satisfactions were in the old days prescribed by the guild and class; today every man has first to find them out and then to achieve them for himself.

Even financial resources are not an infallible criterion. The standards and the problems of the family on $1200 a year in an industrial city are obviously not like those of the $1200 family in a rural village. Although the need for food and shelter may be the same for both, above and beyond this there are cultural standards growing out of racial, social and occupational backgrounds. Each set or class, as well as each type of community, sets up standards for itself which it tries to live up to without necessarily attempting to meet the standards of society as a whole. Are there any general standards of family life which are equally applicable to all families regardless of their economic level? What are these traditional expectations?

Modifying the Traditional Pattern

Sidonie M. Gruenberg

We usually think of the American family in terms of the articulate middle class. But this is shifting so rapidly that it no longer furnishes us with even an approximately stable model if it ever did. Yet it is true that legally the community makes demands on the family without acknowledging any economic differences. It expects, for instance, that the family will provide shelter for its children and send them to school clean and healthy, properly clothed and fed. This kind of undifferentiated demand upon all families, regardless of their capacity to meet it, comes out strikingly in the various reports on school problems included in the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

But although this has remained the official attitude, society has actually made an approach to recognizing differences in the family's ability to fulfill even these functions; the increasing variety of services which pick the child up where the family cannot carry on are a tacit recognition of the possibility that our traditional expectations may no longer be valid.

The very fact that there are certain undifferentiated demands sometimes brings desperate need into sharp focus. All homes are supposed, for instance, to send children to school. There comes a point where children do not have shoes to go to school in. Through their absence, the community, as represented by the school, may have its first knowledge of the family's plight. There is in most urban communities an increasing tendency for the school itself to step in and provide at least enough food and clothing to make attendance possible.

This is, however, only a peculiarly acute phase of a far more general trend toward delegating to other agencies responsibilities which once were strictly home affairs. This tendency should not be thought of as the supplanting of the family, but as the taking over of functions where, under changing conditions, the home is forced to leave off. So we see public health services, recreation centers and other agencies operating, not as an encroachment upon the home, but as a compensation for the restrictions which changing conditions force upon it.

Forces That "Dispossess" the Family

John Levy

Economic cause and effect is not the academic abstraction it may look to be on paper and least so when it is at work in a family. It is constantly shaping, and finding expression through, the emotions of each man, woman and child and their relationships to each other. Psychology has given much aid in interpreting the interplay of outer and inner forces upon our personal lives.

In the past, religious commandment and civil law have made it incumbent upon children to love, honor and obey parents. In the last few years a revolution has taken place in this time honored parent-child relationship. The rights of the child now stand triumphant. Children come first in every way—economically, materially and socially.

How has this change come about? Economic influences have had much to do with reversing the significance of parent-child roles. First, the machine age has reduced very much the importance of the father in the lives of the children. Industry takes the father out of the home and withdraws his authority as the chief source of knowledge and power. Instead of being a master worker he becomes merely an operator in a factory. His own sense of power, and hence his influence in the home, are undermined by the inferior role he plays even in industry. In the second place, with growing industrialism the education of children has moved out of the homes into the schools. The school has taken over more and more of what used to be considered strictly family functions. Moreover, schools put new ideas into children's heads. Some schools allow children to develop notions for themselves. Some of these concepts undermine the prestige of parents. In schools adults are in the minority and children form a community of their own. This arrangement gives children a feeling of class solidarity and re-enforces their anti-parent revolution. Technological advances in industry have made it very difficult for children to contribute to their own economic support. As technological advances are made, labor looks upon children as disagreeable competitors. This unsuccessful competition is eliminated by legal restrictions against child labor. These restrictions make it necessary for parents to contribute more abundantly to the economic support of their children.

Psychologists have shown that there is still another set of conditions responsible for changes in parent-child relationships. Psychology has proven that, to a large extent, children become what their parents make them, not as the result of moral precepts and the use of the rod, but of the constant emotional contacts in the family. Parents find it increasingly difficult in the light of this evidence to place the blame for misconduct upon the children—or the devil. How can parents, having created the very causes which make for disobedience, expect children to honor or even obey them?

These impacts on the parent-child relationship (Should it not now be called the child-parent relationship?) have done their work more swiftly because of another set of social factors which have helped to break down tradition and put newer concepts into circulation quickly. The movies, radio, books, newspapers and opportunities for travel now provide every one with many and similar notions. Another social factor making for the breakdown of the old styles of life is the ease with which we move from community to community. Social mobility has also greatly increased. We climb from social rank to social rank as easily as we move from the west to the east side. These processes of conversion to new notions are insidious and therefore do not stir up parental resistances and defenses. This psychological factor smooths and hastens the absorption and assimilation of highly repugnant ideas.

In brief, parents have fallen from their high estate. Victims of the industrial economic order, of a hateful psychology and a shifting society, they must now sue humbly for love and honor from their children.

New Channels for Parental Responsibility

Carter Goodrich

All these tendencies to "dispossess" the parent—from apartment house living and anonymous wage working to possible anti-parent attitudes and individualistic philosophies—may be described as "trends." But we must be warned against being sure we have found any so-called trend and pinned it down. Of the following, for instance, which is the long-run trend—the assumption of the 1920's that we were surely going to keep on getting richer; the assumption of the 1930's that we are surely going to keep on getting poorer; the variant assumption of the 1930's that the middle class at least is surely declining? We cannot know, since the answer to such suppositions is dependent on social and political decisions as yet unmade. We have the technical possibilities, natural resources and physical equipment for steadily improving our standards of living. The old rugged individualism did not insure acceptable standards of living; emergency arrangements may be little more successful. We are not sure what change, in the long run, will make the most acceptable terms for both the group and the individual.

There are, however, certain tendencies which we can take as more or less permanent, even though the depression foreshortens and exaggerates their perspectives. One unmistakable tendency, in depression and out, unlikely to be reversed by any changes short of the complete breakdown of our whole productive machinery, is that the economic well-being of members of a family is becoming more and more dependent on impersonal, outside factors determined by activities of larger groups. By so much it is less and less dependent on the economic training that can be given within the family group itself; family farms, family businesses, family trades are declining in the familiar pattern of urbanization and industrialization. Even if the movement toward establishing garden cities and subsistence homesteads reverses the trend toward the city, this impersonal non-family economic system will be

maintained, for even these back to the land movements rest upon central planning and continued group activity.

We can, therefore, be quite sure that the family is not going to be the main instrument of carrying on techniques. Parents will be less and less able to train children directly for their economic opportunities; they will be less and less able to find definite opportunities into which to train them. What can parents do? They can save money for them—if they can, and if they can find a place to put it. They can provide educational advantages for them—if they can, and if they know how to choose. The more and more significant ways in which they can influence their children's opportunities are likely to be accomplished in group effort, in organizations, trade unions, in bodies seeking liberal legislation, in consumers' organizations. This makes a new demand, perhaps an impossible one. It involves getting stirred up about other people's children. We cannot continue to be so completely self-sufficient. Much of the quality of the future depends on the success or failure of the attempt to turn the parental bent into proper channels.

Community Planning

Harold F. Clark

Modern industrialization is affecting the family group in various other ways which will remain even after we have lived through this crisis. Not only has it taken work out of the home, made the family dependent on the wage earner, made the wage earner dependent on the whims of the business cycle, but it is also constantly changing the type of work to be done. For a time it produced work for the adult that was so routine and mechanical that it was no longer of educational value. The old craft skills are becoming definitely less important, as modern machinery takes over much of the old craft work. But there is another side to this picture. For since 1900, with the development of the automatic factory, there has been a marked tendency for the unskilled machine tender to disappear. And along with this disappearance of one type of unskilled job, has come an equally marked increase in the number of technicians and executives needed.

This in turn seems to imply at least the possibility of an increasing, rather than declining, educational opportunity through industry. It also implies the necessity for changing our whole educational scheme as related to industry. The need of the future will be for more educated and skilled workers and fewer repetitive unskilled workers. These new type technical jobs will be at least on as high a level as the old craft jobs, and many of them will be on a higher wage and social level. The same development of automatic processes in industry also implies the decline of the number of people employed in any given industrial or agricultural process, but the gross number employed will depend on the number of new industries which develop, and perhaps on what we decide to do with our surplus productive capacity.

There was a time when parents or even children could choose an occupation intelligently. But with 30,000 occupations from which to choose, it is obviously impossible for either the parents or the children in ordinary cases to choose intelligently. This is another field in which social planning will have to supplement individual effort. No community today is dealing adequately with its human resources unless it has a comprehensive plan to use all of the people to do all of the work. There will be no force, no compulsion. An opportunity must be provided and a place prepared for every child. Now that we are rapidly moving toward group provision of so many items, difficulties are beginning to arise. In some way we must see to it that each parent does provide to the very best of his ability, for his own child. Then in addition we must see to it that society makes up any lack. The child cannot be left to suffer too greatly because of the ability or lack of ability of his parents to provide health service or education.

This shift from children's being an economic asset to a liability has forced many countries to subsidize them. All of the evidence points to the fact that this will be done in a far more systematic and consistent way in the future. If society wants more children, and economic conditions are such that the parents cannot be expected to stand all of the expense, the community will certainly enlarge its basis of support. There are undoubtedly grave dangers in subsidizing children. But the alternative may be the extinction of the society that refuses.

The Family as Consumer

Harry L. Lurie

Our nostalgia for the past comes from the fact that we are steeped in the idea that the family is, or should be, a self-sufficient unit. But the family of today is important because it is a consuming unit in a highly complicated economic system. So far it has never had any part in determining the quality of the goods and services which business has provided in its quest for profit. We shall have to find ways in which individual families can cooperate to determine what is to be made available to them. These new functions of the family might

perhaps be summed up along the following lines:

I. A more realistic awareness of the community implications in family life is required. As the functions of the home have gradually changed, the family has tended to become less of an isolated unit and more of a unit of the community. This has strengthened, rather than weakened, the family in several ways although it has made necessary many changes in the philosophy and activities of home and family life.

II. The facts of present change have been obscured due to the apparent confusion and the more or less chaotic aspects of political and economic life. We have been inclined to view the home as though it were unrelated to society as a whole.

III. Changes in the organization of the home need to be defined and accepted. Some of the more important changes are as follows: (1) The home is becoming less of a productive unit and is growing in importance as a consumption unit. Our need is to consider the home from this approach and to look at the family primarily in relation to standards of living. The attainment of this objective requires a radical reorganization in our economic life; and all of the civilized nations, including the United States, are tending in this direction. (2) The consumption needs of the family should be defined in terms of effective use of goods and equipment, and of welfare services, including health, recreation, culture and education. To be effective, this will require a vigorous program of collective action. (3) The new goal calls for consumer participation in production. The home should be considered not as the potential customer, but as the motive for productive effort. High standards of living set as the goal and based upon our productive capacity can be attained only if we are willing to accept a new economic philosophy. As consumption is related to the home, all families must find ways for a more effective participation in consumer standards for material and cultural goods. The progressive elements have already been discovering and developing experimental means for influencing production and determining methods of consumption. These experiments will need to be widely extended to the entire community of families.

IV. The development of a modern program of family consumption means a higher individualism of the family. In the past, it is production which has been highly individualized. The family, on the other hand, has been highly standardized with little real choice or discrimination in the consumption of standardized goods and services created for it by the market. This has led to uniformity, shoddiness and waste in family life. When the family asserts its right to participate in determining the organization and distribution of goods and services, it will be able to obtain for itself a much greater degree of self-expression and variations of choice.

Standards—Minimum and Optimum

Benjamin C. Gruenberg

PEOPLE need help not only in relation to what is ideal or what may be possible in the future but also in relation to what they can actually do now. As a community, we are intellectually aware of many ways of doing things far better than our present practice. This is conspicuously true of nutrition, of housing, of medical care; but it holds good throughout the whole economic and social structure. Our immediate need in dealing with economic changes as they affect family life is to set up minimum standards of decent living. But the vital problem of the future may be to set up optimum standards, since twenty per cent of the population can produce the essentials of life for all the population.

Our point of view regarding economic trends is also affected by whether we think of them as natural forces which follow a fairly unalterable course, or as products of human behavior, such as politics, and accordingly unpredictable. Perhaps the most significant implication of including politics along with economic trends is that by so doing we seem to say that if we knew what we wanted, we could get it.

Some of the outstanding questions for parents of the immediate future thus seem to be:

Toward what kind of regimentation should we look forward—more or less of the kind we know today, or something different in quality as well as in quantity?

How can parental affection and responsibility be channeled over into social reform?

What price must we pay for what we want for ourselves and for our children?

The traditional family was held sacred for the very reason that its protection of childhood was essential for the preservation of the race. As we see schools, public health services and other community agencies taking over more and more of these protective and educational functions, we may be led to question its continued usefulness. But is it not possible that as these are delegated elsewhere, there remain essential human values in the development of which no other agency seems likely to supplant the family? Modern psychology increasingly emphasizes that in setting a pattern of life for the child, in building up ideals of what life should be—that is, in establishing his ego-ideals—the parents remain preeminently effective. There is no evidence to support the fear that the family will not survive.

The Family on the Firing Line

Not theory, not history, but life in the midst of daily living is the stuff with which parents have to come to terms.

WHAT happens to the family —as a family—when it is "on relief," or when it goes from $20,000 a year to an uncertain $50 a week? What does it give up first? What does it hang on to?

It is too soon to measure the effects of the present depression upon the family pattern, but certain immediate results are already evident. As the current product of economic and social trends we see not only the crisis of the depression, but also more insidious invasions—standardization in material things, a parallel repression of spontaneity and individuality, and a steady disintegration of the particular standards of morality and of decent living accepted in any single community or social group. Faced with standardization, repression and disintegration what wonder if the members of the family feel themselves helpless? And yet it is in its ability to meet these inimical forces, that the family, and with it our civilization, must, and will, vindicate itself.

At the Subsistence Level

THE first step in the consolidation of the family is to face the facts squarely, bitter as they are. To begin at the subsistence level, let us look at a comparative study of 3,000 workingmen's families in Cleveland, Syracuse and Baltimore, recently made by the Milbank Foundation. In 1929, the year of halcyon prosperity, the average annual income was $1700; in 1932, it was $900. In 1929, one-third had incomes of less than $1200; in 1932, three-fourths. About one-fifth of these were on relief.

Theresa Wolfson

What *can* workers' families give up? Their best incomes do not allow for extraordinary standards of living. Economies must come out of food, living quarters and the little luxuries that make up the life of Middletown. There has been an immeasurable tendency toward doubling up in smaller space or in shared space. The mother, for instance, takes her children and returns to her parents. In any event, there is a shifting and reshifting of the family nucleus. The effect upon morale cannot be measured or estimated. Records indicate an increase in vagrancy in the last four years—an increase in homeless and wandering boys, and homeless women. Desertion and abandonment of families had increased 134% in 1932 as against 1928, according to William Mathews of the Emergency Work Relief Bureau. This figure, based upon actual arraignments in court, does not account for hundreds of desertions that never come to court. The widespread curtailment of bare necessities and of recreational facilities also has an effect upon the crime records of the community. In 1932, 63% of those arrested in New York City were unemployed.

The actual statistics on this phase of our community life are not as important as the causes, and the questions that are not answered. How much crime is the direct result of the individual's need for bare necessities of life? To what extent have bankrupt business men, unemployed engineers, lawyers, mechanics drifted into racketeering and other illicit practices in order to maintain a standard of living built up in prosperity days?

The depression has been clearly reflected in increased sickness and lowered resistance. Although a study made by the Milbank Foundation, in conjunction with the United States Public Health Service, indicates that the general death rate, and especially the infant and tuberculosis mortality rates have decreased since 1929, the illness rate has been found to increase directly with unemployment. The warning signs of malnutrition, particularly among those families who have failed to adjust their style of living to their suddenly reduced incomes, are evident. Where relief agencies have furnished food and food diets to families, the rate of malnutrition seems to be lower than in those families still struggling to remain independent and not receiving relief.

Fifteen million men and women have been out of work for almost four years. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration stated that in November, 1933, approximately 5,500,000 children below the age of eighteen were on relief rolls. Two-fifths of all re-

ceiving relief were children under sixteen.* What is the effect of relief upon the family? In a civilization still functioning under patterns of laissez-faire, government relief is still charity and stigmatized.

So far, we have considered the effect of these economic changes upon families whose usual economic level is below that of the typical middle class family which we usually think of as representing the "American pattern." But the same forces affect these middle class families; and in the last few years they have perhaps been the ones to whom change has come in its most startling form. We have seen and read of the more extreme cases; at the subsistence level, they have meant the doubling up of families, desertion, dispossession, vagrancy; in the middle class level it has often meant this and more too—losing face in the community, keeping up pretence, mental breakdown and suicide.

A most significant effect of the depression is its repercussion upon occupations and professions. The burden of technological unemployment for many years has been borne by the working man, but the middle class family finds itself confronted with the inadequacy of the professions in which its children have been trained. The teacher, the lawyer, the doctor, the specialist, whose training was subsidized by the family in an effort to guarantee economic security, is probably the most bitterly affected by the present depression. Never before have there been such active demonstrations of employed but unpaid teachers, or unemployed teachers, by unemployed engineers, unemployed social workers. The dignity and respectability, which have surrounded the pattern of professionalism, have been jarred askew.

At the Middle Class Level

Sidonie M. Gruenberg

It is important that these people should see themselves not as isolated victims of special circumstances, but as part of a large social movement. It is a curious fact that while this class, which in the past has been most articulate, has been driven to protest in professional groups, it still remains most silent about its family and personal problems. The once wealthy at one extreme and the very poor at the other are crying out, while the middle class is preserving at least the one tradition of keeping its troubles to itself. The whole situation is still so immediate that there are no formal studies to throw light on it. But a mere stating of the problems would be enormously helpful to those who are face to face with them.

Another outstanding difference between the middle class attitude and that of families who have always lived near the margin of subsistence is that the former tend to consider their situation temporary. They skimp on clothes, even on food, for instance, before they consider moving. Because they carry over their old pride into the new situation, we have yet to hear of their successes, while the relatively few dramatic tragedies stand out in stark relief.

But there are many who have made the shift in a positive and constructive way. To some few there comes a real sense of relief in getting rid of things and of social obligations. These are the ones who, in spite of drastic change, still have some small surplus that gives them leeway to pick and choose, and who find that what they choose to hold fast has real value, unobscured by conventional demands.

What is revealed about basic family relationships, when the props of economic and social position are taken away? Many families have been able to see the crisis through, so that the family emerges with a sounder internal relationship than had ever existed in its more affluent years. But others have uncovered long existing conflicts between husband and wife, between parents and children, between brothers and sisters.

We have all seen ample evidence of the old saying that when want comes in at the door, love flies out of the window. But psychiatrists have helped us to see that this is never a simple case of cause and effect. It is true that economic pressure leaves a mark on the love relationships within the family. But it does not always destroy them. Some families, as already suggested, come together under pressure which would tear others apart. This is a rule that works both ways, because fundamental relationships come nearer to the surface under pressure. Where economic disaster seems to destroy family ties, the real difficulty is simply breaking through at the weakest point. The external catastrophe is utilized as a legitimate rationalization for the unconscious conflict. The fundamental security of the family group does not depend on externals, but on the need for affection and security, for the parents, as well as for the child.

Parents are less likely to overlook or undervalue this need for their children than for themselves. As wage earners, as members of political and social groups, most people are likely to be deeply, though not always consciously, troubled by their weaknesses and their incapacity to battle against the large, im-

* According to the report of the New York State Temporary Relief Administration published by newspapers of March 12, it is estimated that between November 1, 1931 and February 1, 1934, "1,100,000 children under 16 years old, or one in every three in the State, benefited by the State relief, and that 2,500,000 persons in all, or one-fifth of the population of the State, received aid."

personal forces which hammer at them on all sides. Within their homes, they still feel that they have some power, that they are equal to, if not master of, the situation. Take the case of a father whose job is shot from under him by a technological change which makes his particular skill or profession superfluous. As breadwinner for the family, his position is in double jeopardy. The money needs often obscure the emotional needs, but his readjustment in terms of his own sense of security and of his relationship to his children is often as important as is his readjustment in terms of money-earning.

We are also shaken loose both from our old traditions and our "modern freedom" in our ideas about women working after marriage. On the one hand there is much pressure for women to "go back to the home"—and many, having proved that they could get a job and hold it, are ready to accept their domestic role again. On the other hand many women who previously worked only for pin money to supplement the husband's income, find themselves the only wage earners in the family; and still others have been forced out of their homes for the first time.

Preserving the Intangibles of Family Life

THE FAMILY must take increasing thought for the needs of adults as well as children, both because there are fewer children and because the complicated adjustments of the outside world demand for the adults a renewed sense of their own security. We shall find that the family is of enduring worth not because of its antiquity or mysterious sacredness, but because it does for people something they very much want done. It not only protects and nurtures the helpless infant, but all through the years it supplies its members, grown-ups as well as children, with security, with affection, with moral backing, with a sense of belonging. It is true that in our confusion of traditions and backgrounds there is no outstanding pattern of family life that appeals to everybody. But it is equally true that in every class, at every social level, the family develops a mode of life that comes as near as reality ever can to the ideal picture of what the individual wants himself and his children to be, and of what he wants them to seem in the eyes of the community.

The numerous agencies and specialists that have taken over many of the tasks, which the family formerly carried on for the benefit of its members, seem to have very little regard for the family. The factory can make soap and clothing cheaper than can the home; but the makers of soap and clothing seem to be quite unconcerned about the welfare of the family. The teacher is more expert than the parent in transmitting the three R's and many other arts and sciences; she may even give excellent lessons in citizenship; but her teaching seems to be entirely divorced from the making of better sons and daughters, or brothers and sisters, or fathers and mothers.

However it may have changed with changing times, it is still the family which one way or another determines what people want from life; and these human wants still follow ageold patterns, ideals if you prefer to call them so, which have persisted down the ages. There have always been Babbitts and Capones; Aristotle and St. Augustine knew them well. And there have always been, and still are, those who strive for the good life, whatever each of them may mean by that.

Yet in the very act of admitting that in human nature there is nothing new under the sun, we of today are likely to make the mental reservation that *our* situation is a peculiar one; confronted with shifting values on every hand, we feel unable to set up any standards with conviction. Our uncertainty is, of course, due in part to the swift pace at which the world as a whole is moving; but it is also in part, and more directly, due to the fact that the family in losing so many of its traditional functions, has also lost much in both self-assurance and social power.

Both the long view and the immediate crisis lead to the same question: what will be reserved for the family? It will come through this crisis with a new kind of unity, based on its unique opportunity and responsibility to understand and to serve the individual, in his need both for personal security and for integration as a member of a compact and complex social group.

We must learn to seek stability, but through developing flexibility and a capacity for variation, rather than through standardization. The family has not disintegrated; it is as strong as ever, but it is doing a different job. Whether we approach it from the side of its social or emotional or spiritual functions in the world today, we come back to its effect upon the individual, child or adult, both as to his intrinsic dignity and worth and as to his social relations with the outside world. As the total child rearing years of the family become shorter, with fewer children and more outside agencies to aid in their care and training, the home can still justify itself on fundamental grounds. The need is for a parenthood that knows what it wants for itself and for its children; for parents and children do after all constitute the living population. What is good for them cannot in the long run be bad for others, and what is not good for parents and children is not good enough to tolerate.

Moralities— What Are They?

In times like these it may be a more valuable and more difficult achievement to see all sides of the moral issues of the day, than to agree in matters of doctrine.

EVERY philosophy and every religion has been almost as intolerant of those who were willing to believe too much as of those who believed too little. This historical conflict between the open mind and authority is dramatized today in the confusion between the liberal ideals of "progressive" thinkers and the profound need for leadership which is manifesting itself in the almost universal challenge to democracy in government. It affects not only nations and philosophies—people in the mass—but also the relationships of person to person, and none more acutely than that of parents and children.

At the moment it seems more important to clarify the issues we must face as individuals, and especially as parents, than to attempt to reach conclusions. Two ways of approaching the fundamental question of moralities are: the classical or traditional acceptance of certain "eternal verities," and the search for "working hypotheses" in morals as in science.

These two lines of thought lead to the same central problems in practical ethics, but they travel very different roads. In our time the Catholic Church is still the outstanding protagonist of the classical faith in "eternal verities." There are other philosophies which have held a similar faith in "eternal verities" (although the "verities" themselves might be more or less different.) But no philosophy has analyzed more clearly the seeming paradox of fixed principles and changing practices.

Changeless Principles and Changing Practices

Paul Hanly Furfey

THE Catholic Church teaches, and has always taught, that the fundamental principles of morality are unchanging, that there is not the slightest possibility of the most unimportant change in the most trivial of these moral laws. Claiming that morality is unchanging, it has yet continually adapted itself to the progressing centuries. How can this be explained? As a matter of fact the explanation is not difficult; for the contradiction is more apparent than real. The Catholic Church teaches that certain moral principles are unchanging but that the application of these principles does change. This fact gives room for adaptation and development. Thus ingratitude never has been and never will be a morally attractive act. It never has been and never will be permissible to take the life of an innocent man to gratify a lust for cruelty. There never has been and never will be a time when it will be just for the rich man to allow his poor neighbor to starve. The man who refuses to do his duty as a citizen of the country in which he lives is just as wrong in the twentieth century as he was in the tenth. The duty to acknowledge the sovereign majesty of God is a duty which does not change. These great principles constitute the natural law; yet the application of this natural law varies.

One very obvious example of this sort of variation has to do with human law. It has been a principle of Christian morality, from Apostolic times down to our own, that the citizen has the duty of obeying the laws of the state in which he lives, so long as these laws do not conflict with the natural law. Now we all know that laws change from year to year and even from state to state. Today it is an obligation of all citizens above a certain economic level to pay a certain income tax, and the moral sense of the country has been shocked by recent revelations of the fact that certain wealthy men have evaded this important obligation. Yet a generation ago there was no question of the morality of the Federal income tax because such a tax simply did not exist. Thus legislative bodies have the power of changing the morality of certain acts, of creating new moral obligations and abrogating old ones.

Other apparent changes are due to circumstance. For example, from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries it was generally held that it was immoral to loan money for interest. Yet today our whole economic system is built upon the principle that the investor has the right to a fair return from his investments and no one would question the justice of such a procedure. What has happened here? It certainly looks, at first glance, as if the Church had changed her opinion about the morality of a fundamental economic problem. A closer examination of the historical facts, however, will convince the unbiased student that this

is not the case. For the morality of an act often depends upon the circumstances, and circumstances change from age to age. In the middle ages capitalism was practically unknown and there was no way to invest money in our modern sense. Practically the only cases of money lending which were known to the mediaeval theologians were cases in which avaricious men took advantage of the temporary necessities of unfortunate clients to charge them interest at the rate of fifteen to twenty per cent. And it is natural that the men of the middle ages should feel the same repugnance to this practice that you and I feel in regard to the unjust dealings of the loan sharks who often infest our modern cities. But with the rise of modern business, common sense made it obvious that the lending of money in a capitalistic society was entirely justified.

The fundamental principle of justice in business dealings has remained unchanged; but circumstances have made the actual practice of the money lender wrong in the thirteenth century and right in the twentieth. It would not be unduly surprising if some great readjustment of society should again render money lending immoral. In fact, within the past few weeks, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided, in the so-called Minnesota mortgage moratorium case, that the legitimate rights of the mortgage holder might be abrogated in a time of emergency.

To me there is something extremely stimulating in this doctrine of immutability within change. We talk about "relativity" in morals. Physicists who teach the relativity of nature hold nevertheless to one unchanging thing in the universe, the unchanging velocity of light. This furnishes an apt analogy. For we hold that throughout the mutations of human society and custom there remains one unchanging natural law, as true in the twentieth century as it was at the beginning of the world, an absolute norm of right and wrong which knows no change. However much the application of this law may be altered by the vicissitudes of history, the law itself remains firm in its majestic permanence, self-justified like the laws of mathematics, beyond all relativity, beyond the welter of human circumstance, the expression of an unchanging Deity.

"Relativity" in Ethics

Arthur L. Swift, Jr.

WHILE absolutism holds that moral values are divinely revealed, and that ethical principles are eternal and unchanging, relativism bases its moral codes upon a frank experimentalism and considers them subject to change without notice. The effort to mediate between these conflicting philosophies is vain. The absolutist believes that he may keep his principles intact while he modifies their application. The relativist would test the principle in terms of its application. Thrift, honesty, love—these are general terms by which each generation classifies certain ways of behaving. But the relativist claims that no two generations have ever agreed as to the behaviors that constitute them.

"The worth of human life is an absolute value," says one.

But the other responds, "That value is purely relative. In time of war human life is freely sacrificed to what are then termed higher values."

Again the absolutist says, "But there are absolutes in the moral training of children. For example, all children should be helpful, cheerful, and should abstain from fighting."

"I disagree," the relativist replies. "Would you have your child helpful to a classmate in an examination? That is cheating. Would you have her cheerful under all circumstances? She will be as sentimental and unreal as Pollyanna. Would you have your son always refuse to fight? You'll run grave risk of making a molly-coddle and a coward of him."

"Better a few mistakes," replies the absolutist, "than a cheap experimentalism that is little else but license and an opportunism that is often hypocrisy."

As educators and parents, we must admit, whatever our philosophy, that we feel the inadequacy and indefiniteness of many of the codes which we try to bring to the attention of our children. When all is said and done there are but a variety of ways of behaving, more or less similar, in the face of situations never twice precisely alike. There are basic human needs to be met under a wide range of circumstances favorable and unfavorable. The one safe generalization, as a point of reference in discussing human values seems to be that, whatever the circumstances, that conduct is best which most fully fosters social self-realization, a term so general as to be perfectly safe. Human motives may be selfish or unselfish, social or anti-social; usually they are a blend of the two. From prehistoric times down to the present, human nature, in expressing itself in terms of these motives, has evolved and handed down innumerable codes and standards of conduct, none of them fully adequate even to its own generation.

In this time when forces beyond our control or comprehension are compelling basic readjustment in the social structure of which we are inextricably a part, it is fitting that we re-examine and re-appraise our codes and standards of conduct, not for our own sake so much as for the sake of the children to whom we offer these codes. In homogeneous groups, living in a relatively settled and unchanging social environment,

moral standards are as a rule definitely fixed and generally accepted. It is an easier society to live in and to grow up in. You know where you are, and have tremendously fewer adjustments to make. There is less insanity, and there are fewer suicides. A whole people may be made to conform to common standards either by pressure from within, as in some form of dictatorship, or by pressure from without as when a country is threatened by hostile invasion. Neither kind of conformity is likely to be permanent. Germany, with its many suppressions, such as the most recent repressive action against organized labor, seems relatively stable. But so does nitro-glycerin. In both vast disruptive forces are potential.

In normal times we Americans are a heterogeneous people, a conglomerate of conflicting standards, but with a prevailing culture and moral ideals. During the war this prevailing culture under the urge to victory took autocratic command, setting up goals to which the vast majority gave allegiance, conforming to a type. When we found that they were in the main false goals (though they helped to win the war,) we felt ourselves to have been fools and gullible; we repudiated our leadership and retreated into cynicism. There was a demobilization of armies and a concurrent demobilization of morale. We were no longer sure of anything and rationalized our uncertainties in terms of a kind of crude liberal experimentalism in a period of easy getting and free spending. We failed to see the fundamental distinction between a moral experimentation which was "willing to try anything once," and the stern code of the scientist for whom the experimental method is a precise and rigorous discipline. Our haphazard experimentation had little effect, permanent or temporary, save to put further doubt upon the pre-war middle-class moralities.

Then came the chaos of the depression, the threatened break-down of capitalism, the resultant loss of security, the growing sense of personal and social futility to cope with forces beyond our understanding and control. An inevitable result of this individual and social frustration is the present eager and, indeed, pathetic, search for authority, in Europe and in America, in government, in religion and in morals. We have only to look to Russia, Japan, Italy or Germany, to see to what ends this search for authority has led in our own day. This emotional need of a sense of direction, of purposiveness, is too strong to be denied.

All this is an over-simplification of a complex situation, but out of such things as these has grown the present issue, the place and function of moralities in a time of rapid change. It is perhaps disconcerting that we are the creatures of our age, played upon by these forces, but there is a kind of victory in being able to recognize the facts. Tired liberals need not be ashamed to confess that they are looking for guidance.

I dare to believe that they need not be disappointed. The social sciences—political economy, psychology, economics and sociology—are equipped as never before to guide us as a people toward the building of a better society and the formulation of moral codes which we can accept gladly because they are based upon experience of the past, upon knowledge and reason, and because in accepting them we are not committing ourselves to follow them in blind allegiance but rather to test them, and where necessary to change them. Morality can find no wiser foundation than this in a time of change.

Faith as a Working Hypothesis

Benjamin C. Gruenberg

We shall perhaps find that we can build this foundation much as the scientist builds up his premises. He too has faith; but it is not blind. The scientific point of view, so to speak, questions everything and believes everything. In the advancement of science, we first examine our old beliefs; then we ask if anything is believable; and finally we devise new methods of finding what is believable. Scientists are not sure of anything, and yet they have their own security. In medicine, for instance, they do not doubt that our present form of vaccination is better than not vaccinating, that our chances of reaching the sixties are, let us say, eighty-three as against seventy-one a generation ago. They know that vaccination may be supplanted by some superior form of protection, that expectation of life may be further increased; but they take their working hypotheses as of today, and, recognizing their limitations, they still find in them a certain security.

But if we decide to accept faith as a scientific and experimental hypothesis, we then find ourselves, as scientists, in the curious predicament of being in our own test tubes. The chemist watches the reactions of various experimentally induced changes on the substance within the test tube. We try to be equally objective in evaluating our own social order; but at the same time we are the subject of the experiment, and the changes that cause our reactions are more or less beyond our control.

This is the crux of our problem. If we accept the analogy of the scientist's working hypothesis as applicable in the realm of ethics, how far, psychologically, is it possible to attain an experimental faith, comparable to that of the scientist? Science is, after all, a field not quite so deeply colored with struggle

and conflict, and with the whole emotional tone of the individual's life; and even scientists become doctrinaire. What is to hold us fast while we are attempting to live by experimental faith? Is it the force of tradition working within us even after our minds have attempted to rule it out? Is it an irresistable drive from deep within each individual's unconscious? Or is it simply a rationalization, a modern counterpart of Descartes' rule that we should live by conventional creed and code until we discover something better?

The words are similar, but the spirit less cynical when, with the scientist, we say, "This is my belief, and I am willing to stake my life on it. But I know that there are other men working on other, quite different theories. I accept the possibility that I may sometime have to admit that I am wrong. But meantime I am going to live my life squarely on my faith and my belief."

Perhaps the fundamental paradox is that we find we must live by faith, even when we realize that intellectually we cannot completely justify it. At any rate we must all admit that the majority of people, adults as well as children, need definite standards, and that it is only a small minority which even attempts to intellectualize its ethical concepts.

Meanings and Motives

Harold C. Coffman

THE time calls for a clear understanding of meanings, and for a sense of direction. Morality should not be confused with custom, fashion, religion, law or mores. *Custom* refers to traditional social ways of behaving; its chief support comes from the sanction of the past. *Fashion* is concerned with the present, and often deals with the superficial aspects of life; it may be either antitraditional, or it may supplement and sustain custom. *Religious conduct* refers to a relationship between men and some Higher Power, as well as to the relationship between man and man. *Law* is the code upheld by the state; theoretically it cannot be evaded by anyone living within the jurisdiction of the state, even though he is not a member of the body politic. *Mores* have to do with what the community considers right and imply conformity to a social norm. In general we hold that mores are nearly synonymous with morals. To have the sanction of one's group aids one in feeling right about an action. But moral codes may vary from person to person, while mores are characteristic of the community.

The institution of marriage is an illustration of the interrelatedness as well as the differences between custom, fashion, religion, law and mores. In connection with marriage certain customs of courtship prevail. Various fashions affect the marriage rite. Marriages are often performed under religious auspices. The law states certain requirements which must be met. The mores of the community exert a conscious or unconscious control over the participating parties.

It is well to keep in mind that the history of mankind reveals that many contradictory kinds of behavior have been socially approved. Marriages, classified by the number of parties to the union, are of four historical varieties: one man to one woman, monogamy; one man to several women, polygamy; one woman to several men, polyandry; several women to several men, sexual communism. What we today would consider brutal, indecent and degrading behavior, such as murder, rape, theft, incest, cannibalism and slavery, have all at some time or place been socially acceptable.

One of the leading determiners of what is moral has been authority, whether vested in Jehovah, law, parent or another source of power. Social sanction reenforces authority; ritual and symbolism heighten the rightness of various types of conduct. The power of group loyalty and the sentiment of solidarity are potent factors in maintaining moralities. All these, however, operate more effectively in a simple, slow moving, rather circumscribed social group than in a complex, swift moving and large scale society like ours.

One quality which is basic to any moral order is integrity. The banking and political situation has revealed how dishonest the practices of business and civic leaders may become under our present social system. So long as we are driven by the profit motive we shall be limited in the development of ethical conduct in business, politics and other social relations. How can our children be taught to be honest when they live in an atmosphere of dishonesty?

In reprimanding Jerry for doing something dishonest, his father said, "I certainly did not lie at your age." Is it little wonder that Jerry's reply was, "Well then, Dad, when *did* you begin?"

Conduct may be motivated in different ways. We may act from native impulse, with only a short span between arousing the appetite and its appeasement. Second, social behavior may be modified by rewards and punishments, like giving lollypops or giving a spanking. Third, conduct may be controlled by anticipation of social praise and blame, by what we think others expect of us. Fourth, purposeful conduct demands a deliberate choice of thinking and doing regardless of praise and blame. It is on this last level that the highest moral conduct is achieved. It is here that one experiences a "wholeness" of moral living in contrast to a series of acts relatively unrelated, no

matter how moral in themselves. Does not morality refer to a functional relationship between an integrated personality and his social responsibility? The intricate social life of today calls for a relationship in which the individual has more freedom, more chance of achievement, but at the same time it demands of him a clear recognition of his share in social accountability.

Wellsprings of Human Behavior

Caroline B. Zachry

PSYCHOLOGY helps us understand the basis on which this "wholeness" of personality is built by looking at human conduct in relation to its needs and motives, and evaluating it in terms of whether it satisfies them in constructive or destructive ways. Conduct which the psychiatrist feels is desirable, and which most of us would agree is moral, goes back to fundamental emotional needs in human life that must be satisfied. These inner needs include among others the drive for food, shelter and emotional security for oneself and one's children, for sex expression, for recognition or "success," for social relationships and aesthetic satisfaction. If the individual does not have opportunities in ways that are socially desirable and satisfying, he satisfies them in anti-social ways. It is these emotional inner drives, rather than intellectual doctrines, by which men live, whatever they say. Is it not our task to raise these dominant drives from the unconscious and in a sense to balance them against our verbal principles, so that both work together, rather than at cross purposes?

My fundamental thesis is that these needs do not change. As social change comes about, our ways of satisfying them change, but the fundamental needs remain the same. In Russia, for instance, emphasis is on the group. We see shock brigades of little children. We are disturbed by the uprooting of family life. An attempt is being made to give to young children a sense of security based on something different from all that we have known in the past. In the past and in our country today a sense of security still comes from the family, but in Russia it comes from the group.

Where do the drives originate, which each adult is always seeking to satisfy? Let us take the case of parents who realize that they may be wrecking their home, whether they stay together or decide to part. This decision will not rest on any moral teaching, or be very closely related to whatever faith, or lack of faith, they may have in monogamy in the abstract. It is the inevitable behavior of emotionally unadjusted individuals whose needs for security and love were thwarted in their own childhood.

If we begin to realize what these drives are which operate in human life we shall not feel that conformity or non-conformity to a given code is necessarily right; but we shall understand and be more tolerant of every kind of behavior. We shall feel that it is the moral responsibility of society to help people get their satisfaction in better and more secure ways.

What does this mean in a competitive society like ours where the normal needs of human beings are not being satisfied? It means that we must go back from the community to the home and realize that whatever type of emotional individual the child grows up to be, is dependent on the type of home he had in childhood. Whether or not he gets normal satisfaction in infancy and throughout childhood is dependent on whether his own parents were themselves emotionally mature. The thing that is going to count most for morality is this: Is the home providing the child with the means of satisfying his emotional needs? Whether parents are timid or aggressive, mature or immature, the child takes over his fundamental patterns from them. As society is now tending, it seems likely that the home can do most to give the child a fundamental balance by helping him to adjust to life in terms of the social group rather than in terms of himself as a single individual. In certain situations the child needs the security of adult decisions. He needs some feeling of permanence back of him. He needs to be told what to do about things which he is too immature to decide for himself. If a child is emotionally secure, if he has some adult backing, if he can express his own emotional needs, and if he can make a place for himself in a group, we shall hope to turn him out into a community that will continue to give him constructive satisfactions.

Criteria of Excellence for the Present Day

Everett Dean Martin

THE most significant and encouraging thing in all this discussion is that in our chaotic time we are so acutely conscious of this dilemma of ethical instruction for our children. It is a dilemma peculiar to our age. A man, or an age, is known by the dilemmas he keeps. It is the criteria that we retain that determine the levels on which we entertain our dilemmas. We have been living on the moral capital of the ages which preceded us, the ingrained customs and institutions of the past, and this has saved us from the worst consequences of the fluidity into which we have been plunged. There are certain principles which are fundamental, whether they come from God or from the needs of human nature. The problem of the application of those principles re-

mains, and in a changing world that problem leads us where we are today.

Moral behavior is highly evolved behavior. There are certain kinds of behavior which are constant in all human relationships; if you violate them, you destroy the social bond. But every age and every civilization has laid heavy emphasis on some of these behaviors, and less on others. Much of the ethics which we have inherited comes not from Christianity but from the world of Rome. We moderns have never yet set for ourselves any meaning or goal, any criterion of excellence of our own choosing.

What, then, do we see today? A real need for guidance has been met by the reappearance, during the last five or six years in many parts of the world, of the old answer to that need through repression, today particularly ruthless. We who do not subscribe to that answer must be prepared with alternatives. That is why those who believe in social progress through the "eternal verities" are so earnestly reinterpreting them; that is why those who believe that all moral standards are relative are so earnestly seeking to relate them to human needs, to set up "working hypotheses" worthy of their devotion. Here in America we have a real opportunity, a challenge, to work out some "rule of life" which will give us a faith to live by without destroying the integrity of the individual.

The Dilemma of the "Liberal" Parent

The more we strive to give children a balanced foundation for building their own life values, the more we realize the difficulties of finding and following "the golden mean," between freedom and authority.

Sidonie M. Gruenberg

IN MORAL training the parent of today seems nearly as badly off as his Victorian predecessor was in sex education, but for contrary reasons. Neither has words wherewith to talk to his children—the Victorian, because he refused to tolerate any questions about sex; and the modern, because he tolerates every question about morals without making up his mind on any of them.

In relation to many other inescapable questions as well as to sex, liberal parents have been very proud of their "free" presentation of conflicting ideas and ideals. But although children in such homes may be tied by silken threads instead of by chains, they are, none the less, bound fast. The very fact that their parents are so liberal that the children do not have to struggle makes the underlying conflict more difficult for them to meet. We see how frequently they really feel deprived because they have nothing to batter down. We put upon them the burden of choosing for themselves, and at the same time we make it emotionally impossible for them to choose anything except the way of life which their parents practice. This is not to condemn the liberal parents, but, rather to recognize the inescapable weight of parental influences. Once more we are discovering that our children do need standards; they cannot make decisions anew and on their own for every act.

Is our current dissatisfaction with the liberal point of view due to the fact that we are always putting too much faith in training? Did we throw over the old repressive moralistic attitude because it failed to work one hundred per cent, and are we now inclined to do the same with the new freedom? Are we at an impasse because our denial of the old ethics is only skin deep? Or is our sense of futility the by-product of a philosophy which has tried to guide behavior, our own and our children's, so entirely through the intellect that it has left no place in its scheme of things for emotion and intuition?

Techniques of Guidance

Harold C. Coffman

THESE are questions which each of us will answer in a somewhat different way. But we are all awaking to a real need for more unified guidance. The vital question is how to get it without being static. Can we develop moral behavior upon the principle of mutual respect for personality and its growth? While our new moralities should be guided by the intellect, they need to be

reinforced by the glow of satisfying emotion in order to be effective. How can this be achieved?

One method that has been used in the past is that of imitation. It has been claimed that children observe the moral attitudes and practices of those about them and imitate their behavior. The unconscious influence of environment operating as indirect suggestion is an important factor in the moral development of children. The practice of courtesy, kindness, sympathy and unselfishness may often be stimulated in this way.

Another method is that of propaganda. We may use this method unconsciously or by design. Science has given us some rather clever techniques which are effective in manipulating the attitudes of children. But there is serious question whether the method of propaganda does not undermine the freedom and capacity of the child to take increasingly adequate charge of his own moral behavior.

Probably one of the best methods of helping children to develop moral attitudes and practices is to assist them to experience satisfying moral activity where personality is respected.

Henry Frederic Amiel long ago pointed out that, "In the conduct of life, habits count for more than maxims; because habit is a living maxim. . . . To reform one's maxims is nothing; it is but to change the title of the book. To learn new habits is everything, for it is to reach the substance of life. Life is but a tissue of habits."

In times of change it is desirable to discuss what moral "habits" are worth having and how they may be achieved. The experience of a gang of boys with whom the writer is familiar illustrates this sort of guidance. For some time they had been destroying property and had seriously frightened the neighborhood by their night escapades. The mother of one of the boys was wise enough to offer a small building in the backyard, to be used by the gang as a club house. The boys took great pride in fixing it up and equipping it to suit themselves. It gave them a constructive interest in property and as a result their destructive tendencies gradually disappeared.

Another group, made up of high school boys and girls with whom the writer has been working, became dissatisfied with the cheating and poor sportsmanship in their school. Instead of setting out to reform the entire school, they established their own standards and tried them out. The result was that they found genuine satisfaction in honest effort in the classroom and in sports. A little later an opportunity arose to discuss the situation with the teachers and other groups of students. In a quiet way they changed the atmosphere in which they were working and playing. The moral tone of the classroom and athletic field has greatly improved and the whole school has benefited.

Inner Need and External Authority

Harry M. Tiebout

EVEN where children's beliefs may seem to come from outside influences, from "what is being done," it is really the home which calls the tune. This realization, which is coming to thoughtful parents from their own experience with their children, is further strengthened by the findings of psychiatry. Some children need and want far more external authority than others. The real question is why it "takes" harder with some children than with others. Why does a certain child lack inner security? The individual's attitude toward authoritative support from without is built up in the earliest years of childhood and depends on fundamental parent-child relationships. As early as six months, the infant may show signs of what we may well call indoctrination. But it is not indoctrination which comes so much from external pressure exerted by adults, as from something within, something with which the child is born. We have called this, at different times, conscience or the super-ego. This drive may become milder as the child grows up; indeed one of the functions of training may be to soften it. (This opens up the possibility of a complete reversal of all our ideas of child training; we may have been putting the cart before the horse.) Children do have their own moralities, their own drives for repression, for which they seek an outside crystallization. There is real evidence of the existence of a biological sense of guilt. If a particular child needs moral support, then he will seek it out either in the home, the church, or social group. But the need is there before it will "take."

The Urge to Do and Be

Caroline B. Zachry

WE HAVE come to the place where we should make more use of adolescents in society. We must make them feel that they are important to the social order. This depression is tending to keep them babies too long; they do not have that sense of responsibility which helps to build a concept of morality. It is not really that they lack it, but that we do not let them use it. Adolescents want the opportunity to have work in the community, to feel that they are of value to the community, and they think that we are not giving them enough chance. And yet the depression is helping the moral outlook of young people in many ways. There are not the

opportunities to run away from themselves, to escape their conflicts by seeking pleasure. There is less money for the kinds of entertainment that they rushed into before. They are getting their satisfactions by working things out for themselves instead of by being merely entertained. The transition from movies to roller skating is a good transition.

We should allow young people to take the share which they can take in the important problems which face us today. They are so hungry for something to believe that they may be glad to discover in their parents men and women personally worthy of confidence.

Working Out Our Own Salvation

Cécile Pilpel

YOUTH wants guidance, wants to live *by* something and *for* something that gives meaning and enrichment to living. It wants values which will stand this test of life.

Vera Brittain in "Testament of Youth" very aptly pictures the situation when she speaks of "that slightly intimidated respect which modern fathers and mothers feel for the private pre-occupations of their self-possessed and casual children."

If only that casualness, that self-possession were real! They are, to be sure, challenging moral and ethical standards; though it is probably custom, suited to a past social and economic pattern, rather than the deeper values of life which makes for confusion of thought and purpose. If we could change our customs more readily to meet the changes in the world around us, there would be less conflict and intellectual fireworks between the generations.

Many fathers and mothers, too, need to change. They still feel toward their children in terms of the old order. For old codes and sanctions may be rejected and yet leave a continuity of expectation. There may be a residuum of *feeling* about what was formerly considered right, long after the old reasons are repudiated. They want their daughters, for instance, to be pure, to behave with maidenly reserve. They have gone as far as to accept freedom and knowledge as protectors of maidenly virtue, only to find that these modern ideas do not in themselves insure the behavior they desire. They want their daughters to be dated up, to have a good time in this free way, but at the same time they offer them as guiding values the social conventions of their own youth. They have not thought in terms of fundamental values in regard to the relationship of men and women, and when their council proves ineffective, they become timid and beat a hasty retreat before the apparent self-assurance of youth.

Those parents who now find themselves adrift have been carried away on the tide of change, because they were moored insecurely to outworn customs, rather than anchored to something of more fundamental worth. They seek a code as definite as that by which people in the past *knew* that card playing and dancing were wrong. They are crying out for a new decalogue. But in their concern they are not necessarily looking for a "law" with the profound implications of Sinai; they are rather asking for guidance in the complex surface relationships of a day in which cars, movies and other innovations have made the old guideposts meaningless.

But it is not only the changing mechanics of living which has confused the issue. Some changes have been welcomed in the name of ethical progress; among these, not the least is the emergence of women and children into a freer life. Not only women, but men too, find that the release of women into greater freedom calls for new attitudes and relationships. Whether men and women shall have equal pay for equal work is not a purely economic question. A wife's remunerative employment may affect the marriage relationship and call for new adjustments. The greater freedom in matters of sex and widespread knowledge of contraceptives—all these and many others are new issues; and men no longer feel so sure as did their fathers of where they stand morally and ethically in their relationship with women.

But in our very concern about our present chaotic state of mind there is hope; our hesitation to formulate ethical and moral principles because of our fear of becoming again dogmatic is not necessarily a negative attitude. There are indications of a renewed stirring of this ageold and perennial concern; we bring to it new tools, or if not precisely new, at least sharper, more scientific ones. Psychology has given us greater understanding of the individual and individual differences; a respect has been developed for the potentialities and a clearer understanding and appreciation of the limitations of the human being. We know far more clearly today than we have ever known before what man *is* psycho-biologically, and we no longer attempt to build up values without the recognition of the instincts and drives which we may sublimate but which we dare no longer suppress.

Assuredly we cannot go wrong if we focus our interest in child training toward a cultivation, both in mind and heart, of understanding as well as concern for those with whom we live. As we clarify our thinking and deepen our convictions, we shall find that there are life values for which, even in what we call this changing modern world, we shall be willing to live and die.

Parents' Questions and Discussion

These pages, based on the foregoing articles, are presented for the use of individuals or of groups having this topic on their regular programs. Questions and discussion are taken from study group records.

STUDY GROUP DEPARTMENT

CÉCILE PILPEL, Director — JOSETTE FRANK, Editor

To shield her ten-year-old son from anxiety, a mother has not let him know that his father lost his job and has been unemployed for months. Now the boy, aware that something is amiss, is asking questions. Will this knowledge undermine his sense of security?

Perhaps his feeling of security is already undermined by the insecurity of his family, which he evidently senses. A sharing in the family's concern is much more likely to restore than to disturb his equilibrium. It is not necessary to pass along to him all the anxiety which the parents feel; certainly he himself will not feel as much anxiety since he cannot visualize all of the uncertainties of the situation. But if he is an alert ten-year-old he is probably aware of the "depression," has heard about it on the radio, or in adults' conversations, or at school. He can be helped to see his personal and family situation as a part of the more general one, rather than as an individual misfortune. The parents can best help him by a show of their own security in one another, and in a hopeful attitude toward a better reconstruction of society. If the father will devote part of his enforced leisure to some shared activity with his boy, the latter may come to regard his father's situation as not unmixed with advantages. Without minimizing its gravity, the situation may thus be made to yield some very real gains in terms of family relationships.

How can we get children to accept the need for retrenchment without making them feel deprived?

The following story, illustrating how one such problem was met, may be suggestive. A mother, living on a greatly reduced budget, faced with some concern her nine-year-old's plea for a birthday party. She knew that the little girl's friends, at a private school, were accustomed to rather elaborate parties which she could not now afford to have. But at the child's earnest assurance that she did not expect a "fancy party," the mother was finally persuaded to see what could be done. With pencil and paper she then hastily made a list of what would be needed and found to her surprise that even so simple a party would involve an outlay larger than she had a right to make for such a purpose. Whereupon the nine-year-old took a hand in the budgeting. Looking over her mother's shoulder at the figures, she pointed a thoughtful finger. To begin with, one might eliminate that item for paper plates and cups—one could use the regular china ones even if these didn't all match—and she would help wash them after the party. Candles and candle holders for the cake? Grandma had some left over, she was sure, and one could borrow these. As to the item for "souvenirs," were these necessary? When mother reminded her how she herself always treasured the souvenirs she brought from parties, she admitted that they *were* desirable, but couldn't they be less expensive? Perhaps one could just use gay colored lollypops, of which a supply was already on hand. Mother suggested dressing up the lollypops into crepe paper dolls, and daughter added that the remaining crepe paper might then be used to make candy receptacles for the table. And so another expense item was deleted. The donkey party she would make herself—all that was needed was a large sheet of paper and a little help on the drawing. And if the ice cream were made at home (daughter helping) wouldn't it be cheaper than buying it? So a full three or four dollars was cut from that party budget. And what was gained for the mother-daughter relationship in the ensuing week of "making things" for the party, and in this child's realistic grasp of fundamental values, was inestimable. Assuredly, it can be done!

Two little girls are very self-righteous and smug about giving their outgrown clothing and surplus toys to the chauffeur's child. How can they be helped to a more desirable spirit of giving?

We have to recognize that giving is a form of ego-satisfaction, no matter how directed into socially useful channels. Children are simply more frank than adults in expressing their satisfaction in this respect. If, instead of thinking in terms of *giving*, we *feel* in terms of *sharing*, the children may, in time, develop the idea that they are simply supplying things where they are needed rather than giving largesse from their own plenty. If the child in his family relationships has come to a realization that "charity begins at home," that there is need for sharing and consideration and concern for others within the family as well as outside of it, then "giving" can be readily translated into "sharing." Any intelligent child must very early realize that there is a marked differentiation of status in our social-economic order. If we as parents do not slur over this fact, we shall certainly let our children know that we are aware of the unequal distribution of material things, and help them progressively, as they grow older, to develop a concept of social justice.

In a family which has had to dispense with maid service, the children want to adopt short-cuts; to have meals in the kitchen, to replace table cloths with oilcloth, to cut out what they call "frills." The mother is concerned about this letting down of their accustomed standards of living.

The fact that the children are so willing to dispense with certain formalities seems to show that these have not become significant to them as measures of a "standard of living." The really fundamental niceties in our living are less involved with table service than with mutual consideration. Very often we find that the removal of outside "service," the simplification of the family set-up bring out real values in relationships between family members which were formerly buried under the trappings of more formal living.

A girl of twelve, a scholarship student at a private school, invited some classmates to her home. Their comments upon some broken furniture and the inferiority of her room equipment hurt her very much. Her mother telephoned to the children's parents about it. Was this wise?

Evidently the mother was also hurt, perhaps because she is herself very sensitive concerning her economic situation. She must know that children, the world over, are cruel as well as kind to one another and have the capacity to hurt each other. The depth or seriousness of these hurts will in each case depend upon the child's emotional robustness and feeling of security. If she has not already been oversensitized to social-economic differences, she will not feel the matter so keenly. The mother's concern should be not with these other children, to prevent their unkindness but with her own child, to build up her feelings of security and integrity, and help her to a sense of "worth" in other than social-economic terms.

Parents who have always considered themselves liberal in their ideas are shocked at their nineteen-year-old daughter's declared intention to enter into a "free love" relationship. Yet they question their right to interfere.

The parents are already "interfering"—whether they intend it or not—by being "shocked." Certainly their attitude in the matter must be known to the daughter and is inevitably influencing her for or against her declared intention, according to her relationship with her parents. Perhaps it is their very attitude of *laissez faire* that she is reacting to and, so to say, punishing them for. Normally young people, for all their brave talk, do want and need the security of adult guidance. Unless there is a powerful need to combat the parents which utterly clouds their judgment, they are eager for help in clarifying their thinking and feeling in the situations which naturally confront them as growing adolescents in our presentday society. They are willing, then, to recognize that to their parents it is not a question of "right" or "wrong," but of a wisdom based on greater maturity and wider experience which can see beyond the immediate situation. Parents cannot free themselves of their responsibility to step in when they see their growing children heading for an experience which to them, rightly or wrongly, seems unpromising or dangerous for their best development. This, of course, need not mean a parental "ultimatum," but rather a frank presenting to the girl of what they see involved in such a step.

In view of today's conditions should a girl entering college be encouraged to train for a profession in which she must compete with men?

The outstanding characteristic of today's conditions is their very uncertainty. We find it almost impossible to predict what the situation of professionally trained men and women will be, even four years hence, and so the whole question of professional training becomes a difficult one. We can

only base our children's education today on the few known quantities and think in terms of known rewards. We do know that happiness is to be derived from the pursuit of a genuine interest, that the development of one's inner resources to the utmost is worthwhile both from the point of view of the individual's self-expression and as offering maximum service to the community. Where a girl has a particular bent toward one of the professions the pursuit of that interest is a developing process, and changing conditions will eventually yield new channels for practice in the chosen or allied fields.

STUDY MATERIAL: THE FAMILY AND ITS FUNCTIONS TODAY

TOPICAL OUTLINE

I. Social and Economic Backgrounds
   1. Factors Influencing Standards of Living
      Native intelligence of parents, of children
      Physical stamina, energy
      Custom and tradition of the family; the social group
      Family income—earnings, non-earned resources
   2. Sociological Forces Affecting Family Status
      Industrial and commercial flux, in the immediate experience of the individual earner
      Remote financial and industrial changes
      Technological displacements
   3. Preparation of Children and Young People for Changing Conditions
      Recognition of constant values amid changing social and economic conditions
      Need for awareness of new conditions and corresponding goals
      Need for vocational information and choice

II. Moralities in a Time of Change
   1. Bases of Human Behavior
      Drives from within
      Tradition and custom; family, community, racial
      Social forces which affect individual desires
   2. Interpretations of "Virtues"
      Attitude toward thrift, saving, "charity"
      Demands made by new leisure, reorganization of industrial system
      Relationships between men and women
   3. Guiding Forces
      Religion
      Ethical understanding
      Loyalties—to individuals; to larger social groups; to one's country; for world fellowship

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. It is said that every effective teacher must have an understanding of social and economic forces operating in the school community and in the world today. How can this knowledge be useful to a kindergarten teacher, a teacher of special subjects?
2. What changes in vocational guidance have occurred within the past decade, in cities, in the country?
3. How may the prevalence of dictatorships throughout the world affect theories and practice of discipline in the home, in the school?
4. Outline a program for a group of adolescents interested in studying social attitudes as affecting international relations.

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By Ruth Kotinsky. *Appleton Century.* 191 *pp.* 1933

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The Family in the Present Social Order
By Ruth Lindquist. *Univ. of North Carolina.* 241 *pp.* 1931

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Taming Our Machines
By Ralph E. Flanders. *Smith.* 244 *pp.* 1931

Moralities in a Time of Change

Character Education in Soviet Russia
Edited by W. C. Trow. *Ann Arbor Press.* 199 *pp.* 1934

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Tenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendents, National Education Association. 536 *pp.* 1932

(*Continued on page* 220)

Book Reviews

Adult Education and the Social Scene. By Ruth Kotinsky. D. Appleton-Century Company. 208 pp. 1933.

This book is not a manual on how to conduct courses for adults. Its thesis is implied in the title; education for adults must be conceived of as necessarily interrelated with the general social conditions, and not as a series of formulae for training in skills or cultural entertainment.

One of the illuminating concepts in the book is the author's definition of maturity. Maturity is not a final point of development at which certain capacities may be taken for granted as the result of experience. It implies rather the potentiality of continuous growth and the ability to form new patterns of thought and action in response to life's ever-changing demands. In this sense a child may be mature in relation to the responsibilities of his age and circumstances. "Adulthood is not something new after childhood and youth, but grows out of them."

Having outlined the underlying functions of adult education, the author analyzes the present situation in the American adult education movement as she sees it. It is still conducted chiefly as an "indoors" enterprize; it is set apart from actual effective contact with its subject matter. Parent education is the only exception. All adult education, including parent education, unquestioningly accepts the general framework and organization of the status quo. Even classes which deal with economic problems approach them from the point of view of the spectator, and do not go "outdoors" to tackle them and then learn anew from the changes they have wrought.

The issues which emerge from this analysis involve a whole philosophy of life and growth. The author examines the distinctions generally drawn between leisure and labor; she exposes the shallowness of using hobbies merely as a compensation for "unworthy labor," the unnaturalness of trying to differentiate culture in its narrower sense from the everyday life of our civilization. Adults should not try to get away from life in classes once a week; they should remake society so that all activity is creative and integrated.

This book is well written, clearly thought out, stimulating, and in a certain sense radical. Perhaps from reading it some adults will gain insight into the ideals toward which many adolescents are groping—to their elders' present bewilderment. The point of view is practical and realistic rather than Utopian, though it looks toward a different future. R. H. K.

Mental Hygiene in the Community. By Clara Bassett. The Macmillan Company. 394 pp. 1934.

This is a comprehensive and unusually well integrated survey of the place of mental hygiene in modern life. It makes a plea for the inclusion of mental hygiene in various organized groups, such as parent education, nursing, medicine, the church and the law.

The present practices in our schools, courts, hospitals, social agencies and other institutions and the training offered in these fields are described. The discussion of mental hygiene and parental education will probably be of most immediate interest to parents and parent education workers. After describing the existing lack of organized training for parenthood in the general scheme of public education, the author goes on to analyze some of the reasons for our slowness to realize its importance. She suggests as contributing causes the emphasis in education on the abstract and remotely academic and the fact that the sciences, like psychology, which have most to contribute to parent education are themselves relatively new and as yet not wholly integrated in education. Another cause, which the author does not mention but which must surely also play a part, is the parent's perhaps unconscious feeling that his home is the one realm in which he is least open to criticism.

After summarizing the effects of maladjustment upon the parents themselves, as well as upon the children, Miss Bassett goes on to suggest what is needed for a broader and better organized program of parent education. She makes a strong plea for community organization rather than for neighborhood "mothers' meetings," for the inclusion of fathers and of men leaders in the parent education movement, and finally for the development of pre-parental training through the schools. At the conclusion of the chapter there is a list of suggestions for the investigation of community developments in parental education, which will be particularly helpful to those who wish to check up on their own work and its future needs.

Although it is not the purpose of this work to make a new contribution, it offers a very real service in summarizing what has been done, and what is yet to be done, for the cause of mental hygiene. Z. C. F.

In the Magazines

What One Parent Demands of a Camp. By Frank Howard Richardson. Camping Magazine, February 1934.

The parents should know the director of their child's camp. He must measure up to their standards as a director and advisor for their child; there should be a choice of program so that camp life should not be too strictly regimented, and yet not entirely undisciplined. There should be few competitive awards except those that "signify the camper's success in competing with himself."

"When Is a Party?" By Sophia Yarnall. Hygeia, March 1934.

An account of the mistakes often made in giving children's parties, and a detailed description of the type of successful party frequently given by the author, stressing simplicity and activity on the part of the children themselves.

The Adopted Child. By Samuel J. Crumbine, M.D. Child Welfare, March 1934.

The adopted child should be told about his adoption early, so that he does not hear of it first from outsiders. He should be treated with "good humor and common sense." Gratitude, an adult virtue, should never be expected of children.

How to Select Movies for Children. By Fred Eastman. The Parents' Magazine, March 1934.

Criteria for judging motion pictures are given from two aspects; that of the value of the picture as drama, and that of the effect of the picture on the child.

How Much Truth Can Children Stand? By S. M. Gruenberg. The Parents' Magazine, March 1934.

"It is necessary for children to learn the tragedies of life without developing destructive anxieties." Parents should tell children frankly about the dangers of the adult world. "A child who is secure in his home can learn to accept the fact that there is sometimes unfriendliness in the world outside."

Learning to Be Friends. By John Levy, M.D. The Parents' Magazine, March 1934.

The ability to make friends is a skill, not a gift. The two- or three-year-old needs to learn how to make concessions to his contemporaries as well as how to defend himself; at four and five the child learns how to do things with his friends. Adults should guide, but not obviously interfere, and "the parents' own capacity for friendship is the most potent influence which can be exerted in helping a child to learn to be friends."

It Gets on My Nerves. By Hubert S. Howe, M.D. Good Housekeeping, March 1934.

The reasons for family discords are to be found not in "nerves" but in emotional maladjustment. Dr. Howe suggests that one way of meeting quarrels is to have each member of a family draw up a list of the causes of his disturbance and what he wants done about them, then to work out a solution in the light of these. When people try to change themselves instead of trying to change others, harmony will be more easily achieved.

Sleep, Baby, Sleep. By Josephine Kenyon, M.D. Good Housekeeping, March 1934.

The amount of sleep a baby needs, and the reasons for disturbed sleep, are discussed clearly and in detail.

When Good Parents Get Together. By Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Delineator, March 1934.

An address to young parents, emphasizing the facts that intelligence must be enlisted as well as mother love in rearing children, that technical information "is of use only when handled with skill and good judgment, and that the psychological factors must be given as much consideration in adult adjustments as in child training."

Education and Social Change. School and Home, March 1934.

The entire issue is devoted to "Education and Social Change." J. Carleton Bell and V. T. Thayer discuss the general topic. F. L. Redefer writes on educators as leaders; John I. Childs, on the school and the social order; and Eduard C. Lindeman, on the function of the teacher.

This Age of Plenty. By Stuart Chase. Harpers Magazine, March 1934.

The author's thesis is that the "Economy of Scarcity," on which all our economic theories and practices are based, has passed and that we are now entering an era where the "Economics of Abundance" will demand an entirely new kind of planning in industry and the distribution of its products. He goes on to describe the imperatives which the Economy of Abundance involves and on which it must function in the direction of an economic system based on serviceability and security.

News and Notes

Child Health Day

The tenth annual Child Health Day will be observed on May 1 under the auspices of the Conference of State and Provisional Health Authorities of North America. In the ten years since its initiation by the American Child Health Association, the observance of this day has undergone significant changes. New groups have realized that they have contributions to make, and more and more communities have cooperated actively, not only in the May Day celebration but in year-round work for the best interests of children. At this time when appropriations and budgets are being cut, it is particularly important to consolidate these gains.

Parent-Teacher Convention

"The Future of the Forgotten Child" is the topic selected for the convention program of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, to be held in Des Moines, Iowa, May 13-19. The discussion will be centered around the specific ways in which parents and teachers may cooperate in a time when the consideration of wage earning has necessitated the exclusion of many vital factors in training and protecting children. The needs of the child — in health, education, religious training, home and social outlook—are matters of concern to all members of this organization, as to everyone interested in children.

The program, as announced by Mrs. Hugh Bradford, National President, includes discussions of outstanding problems relating to education and child welfare by men and women of national prominence. These discussions will be carried on in conferences, classes and general sessions of the convention. Among notable speakers will be Mrs. Harold Ickes, author, lecturer and wife of the Secretary of the Interior, who will speak on "Educating the Child to Meet New Conditions," and Dr. Charles Gilkey of the University of Chicago, who will speak on "The Child and His Religion." "The Responsibility of the State to the Child" will be discussed in a public forum on the evening of May 15 under the direction of Dr. J. W. Studebaker. This meeting will be a demonstration of the value of adult education in the community life. Dr. Studebaker, who is Superintendent of Schools in Des Moines, is also director of the nationally famous Des Moines public forums being conducted under a five-year-plan, financed by the Carnegie Foundation through the American Association of Adult Education.

Pioneer Youth Celebrates A Decade

Pioneer Youth will celebrate its tenth anniversary in a dinner at the Town Hall Club on Monday evening, April 9. In announcing this anniversary the organization reviews its decade of growth from the informal group brought together by Joshua Lieberman and Norman Thomas. One particularly interesting phase of the Pioneer Youth development is the fact that from the very first it has included parents along with educators and other specialists in the council, which has determined the program for the camp and clubs, conducted as a part of its work. The camp has perhaps been the best known of its activities and its theories and techniques have been described in Mr. Lieberman's book on *Creative Camping*. Neighborhood clubs, workshops and discussion groups, started in New York in 1926, and in Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1927, have also been continued. One interesting development of the work in New York City has been the series of "Discovering Manhattan" excursions which have been carried on during January and February of this year. Various industrial and commercial organizations have been visited by groups of boys and girls, under trained leadership. These excursions have been followed up by the groups through discussions of what they have seen, and through craft work and dramatics based on their observations.

School of Family Relationships

The School of Family Relationships, conducted by the Department of the American Home of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women, will hold its second summer session June 18-20 at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Fathers, mothers, teachers and all others interested in home relationships are eligible. The purpose of the school is to give to non-academic groups the practical help of highly trained professional workers in many fields related to the problems of the family. The course is under the direction of Myrtle M. Stough, with Dr. Russell I. Thompson as dean and Dr. Char-

lotte Easby Grave as consultant. Other instructors and lecturers are: Sophia Bliven, Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, Emma Johnson, Marion M. Miller, Valeria H. Parker, Dr. Albert Lindsay Rowland, Gilbert F. Stephenson, Dr. John A. Stevenson and Dr. Florence Teagarden. Courses include: Personality Adjustments in Marriage, Child Development, Adolescence, Sex Education, Character Education, Mental Hygiene of Family Relationships, Home Environment, Family Finance, The Relation of the Family to the Community, Organization and Leadership.

In addition to the fee of $5 the only expense is for meals, thanks to the hospitality of Dickinson College in granting use of its grounds and buildings, including dormitories. Further information regarding the school can be secured from Mrs. Mulford Stough, 210 South West Street, Carlisle, Penna.

Vassar Institute of Euthenics

Vassar College will hold its ninth annual Institute of Euthenics from June 27 to August 8, 1934. The Institute offers a program of courses, lectures, discussions and personal conferences to parents, teachers and others interested in the family group and its relationships. Courses will be offered in child psychology, adolescent psychology, nursery education, mental hygiene, physiology and nutrition, interior decoration, household technology, problems of the modern family and parent education leadership. Two schools for children from two to seven years of age will be conducted in connection with the Institute, and parents may observe and discuss with the directors the methods of child training used with their own children. The summer Institute of Vassar has proved itself of professional value to teachers and social workers interested in observing, at first hand, parent-child relationships. For full information, write the Director, Institute of Euthenics, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

Child Study at Mooseheart

A Conference on Child Development, Care and Training was held in Washington, February 22-24 under the auspices of the Mooseheart Laboratory for Child Research. James J. Davis, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, who founded Mooseheart, was Honorary Chairman, and Dr. Martin J. Reymert, Director of the Laboratory, was Chairman. In giving a brief history of Mooseheart, which is located near Aurora, Illinois, Dr. Reymert pointed out that it offers unusual facilities for covering every aspect of child life. With an average of 1,200 to 1,400 normal children living in the community for about eight years each, the work in child guidance as well as in child study has a continuity which is difficult to attain under other circumstances. In collaboration with fifteen other institutions, new studies have been undertaken on such situations as speech difficulties, enuresis and behavior problems. Other speakers at the conference who discussed various aspects of child training and parent education were: Edgar A. Doll, James P. Molloy, Louise Stanley, T. Wingate Todd, Charles H. Judd, John E. Anderson, C. A. Prosser, Borden S. Veeder and E. W. Burgess.

Federal Building Exhibit of Association Publications

A permanent exhibit of the publications of the Child Study Association has been requested by the Emergency Education Section of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. The exhibit is now on view in the Federal Building in Washington, D. C. It includes copies of CHILD STUDY and all the pamphlets and books published by the Association.

Bronx Lecture Course

The last of the series of lectures, under the auspices of the Bronx Committee of the Child Study Association, will be given on Tuesday evening, April 17. Mrs. Cécile Pilpel will speak on "Boy and Girl Relationships." These lectures are held at Public School 64, Walton Avenue and 170 Street, at 8:30 o'clock.

Reference Reading

(*Continued from page* 216)

The Child's Religion *By Pierre Bovét.*	*Dutton.*	202 *pp.*	1928
Does Civilization Need Religion? *By Reinhold Niebuhr.*	*Macmillan.*	242 *pp.*	1927
Civilizing Ourselves *By Everett Dean Martin.*	*Norton.*	329 *pp.*	1932
The Meaning of Right and Wrong *By Richard Clarke Cabot.*	*Macmillan.*	463 *pp.*	1933
The Modern Temper *By Joseph Wood Krutch.*	*Harcourt, Brace.*	249 *pp.*	1929
The Moral Instruction of Children *By Felix Adler.*	*Appleton.*	278 *pp.*	1920
Morals of Tomorrow *By Ralph W. Sockman.*	*Harper.*	331 *pp.*	1931
A Preface to Morals *By Walter Lippmann.*	*Macmillan.*	348 *pp.*	1929
Religion and the Modern Mind *Edited by Charles C. Cooper.*	*Harper.*	227 *pp.*	1929
Religion and the Next Generation *By Edwin Ewart Aubrey.*	*Harper.*	188 *pp.*	1931
Selected Readings in Character Education *By Dennis Clayton Troth.*	*Beacon.*	387 *pp.*	1930

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Now and Long Ago In New Books for Children

Manhattan—Now and Long Ago. By Lucy Sprague Mitchell and Clara Lambert. The Macmillan Co. 336 pp. $3.50. 1934.

Those of us who know New York, who love New York, and who as parents or teachers would share this love and understanding with children, will welcome this saga of a great city; and those of us who have rejoiced in Lucy Sprague Mitchell's rich contributions to the human aspects of geography will find this new work a most suitable successor to her *North America.* The present book has been written in happy collaboration with Clara Lambert whose stories of "long ago" give a warm touch of personal incident and youthful adventure to the setting of the past.

Mrs. Mitchell's early chapters are devoted to the teeming city of today. The organic patterns—of the harbor, of the streets, of the "city housekeeping" below the streets, of food supply, of skyscrapers, of recreation—set her stage for the informative stories which follow. We see the harbor's timeless tides and its vast shipping through the eyes of a pilot and again through the eyes of a small boy living with his family on a coal barge. We receive storm warning with the weather man, and we see how a blizzard complicates the work patterns of the busy millions as we struggle with Jake, the engineer, to bring the milk train through the storm. Skillfully the author gathers the manifold threads to interpret what lies behind this bustling, turbulent city life of which most of us see only the surface.

The demolition of an old house on Van Dam Street leads us back a hundred years. Here Mrs. Lambert picks up the thread of historical detail in charming, interpretive stories of old New York, a New York of pleasant meadows and rough cobbled streets, into whose harbor come great winged clipper ships, and on whose broad river ply the first steamboats. We hear of a new gas line being laid to light the streets and houses, and how a dearth of wells caused buckets of fresh water to be peddled about the streets. Old landmarks which can still be found are woven into this root pattern of today's city.

Our next view is of New York three hundred years ago, when Dutch families braved the terrors of the long sea voyage to build homes in a strange land. Here old names quaintly reappear as we share the experiences of Dutch children on the edge of the New World. Through them we hear of the siege of New Amsterdam by the English and of how the Dutch were allowed to go on tranquilly living in the renamed

New York. The last chapters are devoted to the dim times before the coming of the white man, when the Indians dwelt on the forested island whose deep river channel still bears the scars of sweeping glacial ice.

The book gains immeasurably from a splendid collection of fine illustrations, ranging from modern photographs and reproductions of rare old prints to maps and charts, both old and new.

Out of all the magnificent array of facts is woven a warm, human interpretation of a living Manhattan, this "Island of Work" which today rises high on its narrow ledge of rock firmly rooted in the past. The authors have bravely attempted a huge task and have successfully measured their skill in organizing so large a canvass for the young student of about nine, and for his parents as well. F. S. S.

The Story Book of Things We Use. By Maud and Miska Petersham. John C. Winston Co. 128 pp. $2.50. (Also in four sections at $.60 each.) 1933.

As a picture book, no less than as a record of human achievement in the development of houses, food, clothes and transportation, the Petershams' newest book is a significant contribution to the libraries of children up to nine. Vibrant with action and color, the numerous illustrations spread before them a panorama of man's progress. The accompanying text is simple and explains clearly each step of the way, showing the slow evolution of our modern methods, from the earliest carrying of burdens on the backs of man and beast, through the elaborate wheeled Roman chariot, down to the earliest steam engine and the latest airplane. The authors successfully bridge the gaps of time and distance by giving equal consideration to the old and the new, the far and the near; the "closeup technique" is applied alike to the cliff dwelling, the pueblo, the igloo, the Chinese junk, the cottage and the skyscraper. The young reader will gain here not only a series of facts but a whole point of view, an opportunity to see the present not only as an outgrowth of the past, but also as a forerunner of the future. H. K. L.

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The Editors' Page

THERE is now in America—and I narrow the field deliberately, but not because I must—a generation of children whose lives have a background of nothing but conflict. They were born into it, and whether they will live through or beyond it is still no more than surmise. To be sure there are rest periods in kindergartens and carefully organized homes; but these are only floating scraps of peace. If he lives in a city, the child sees harassed educators warring with city officials, and organized banditry menacing the physical safety of citizens. If he lives in a coal mining village, he sees a desperate struggle going on to maintain industry and so livelihood. If he lives on a farm, he sees that the very fertility of the earth can war against this civilization that man has built.

ALL very well, many people say. Conflict develops character. But that deep-chested statement is not always true. It is not true when conflict ends in baffling, when it is a struggle to no fine purpose and to no clear outcome. Conflict makes heroes; but it also makes bullies and cowards. Children today, I think, see a great deal of ugly conflict that they cannot possibly respect. We talk loudly about the bad example of racketeers. But is that why we find in so many young people a contempt for marriage and family life? I do not think we can blame that on the racketeer. Nor can we blame on our professional public enemies the fact that our children have little faith in government. They have seen what a poor fight we put up for it and how little gallantry we display.

WHAT can we do to dignify necessary conflict and make it bearable? Nothing, until adults themselves differentiate between the worthy battles of today and the unworthy. Nothing, until we deepen our own purposes. Children should be shown that there is a shifting of emphasis throughout the world from the individual to the group, and that it is this which necessarily entails bitterness and injustice and conflict. It does children no good to watch a brawl. That is why we should try to teach them this, if nothing else—that conflict should be made the great gesture of progress and not of destruction, either in the individual or in the mass.

Margaret Culkin Banning

CHILD STUDY

A JOURNAL OF PARENT EDUCATION

VOL. XI MAY, 1934 No. 8

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CHILD STUDY entered as second class matter March 8, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.
Copyright 1933 by Child Study Association of America, Inc., 221 West 57 St., New York, N. Y.,
Eight months, October through May. Fifteen cents per copy; one dollar a year. Add twenty-five cents for all foreign subscriptions.